

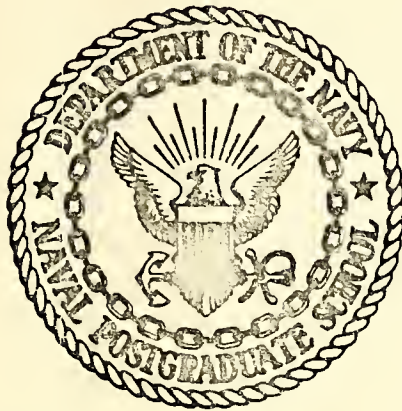
BLACK POWER AND THE MILITARY

George Thomas Lloyd

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# NAVAL POSTGRADUATE SCHOOL

## Monterey, California



# THESIS

BLACK POWER AND THE MILITARY

by

George Thomas Lloyd

and

Bennie Wayne Cook

December 1974

Thesis Advisor:

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Block #19 continued

Negro Self-Concept  
Black Unity  
Integration

Block #20 continued

interviews with black military personnel is presented in a standard data display format and correlated to the black military individuals' self-concept and his understanding of the Black Power movement. Conclusions are presented in terms of institutional concepts and alterations necessary to accommodate disenfranchised society and minority groups within the military.







Black Power and the Military

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## ABSTRACT

This paper reviews the historical background of the Black Power movement in American society and its effects upon the military establishment with respect to ethnic constraints, institutional standards and the black perspective. Major issues of both the advocates and opposition of Black Power in terms of separatism and integration are also discussed. Research in terms of personal interviews with black military personnel is presented in a standard data display format and correlated to the black military individuals' self-concept and his understanding of the Black Power movement. Conclusions are presented in terms of institutional concepts and alterations necessary to accommodate disenfranchised society and minority groups within the military.



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## I. BACKGROUND TO BLACK POWER

### A. INTRODUCTION

The impetus of this thesis is, first, to examine the circumstances that led to the birth of the Black Power movement, and second, to determine what effect Black Power might have on the self-concept of black military personnel and the military establishment as a whole.

With even a cursory examination of the present status of the civil rights movement among blacks in the United States, one is able to discern a significant shift in the tactics employed to achieve equality and opportunity. While agitation and protest are certainly not new techniques for expressing the dissatisfaction that blacks have felt towards the American social system,<sup>1</sup> there does seem to be a new perspective which has been introduced into the black viewpoint. Most significantly, this impetus expands the previously reformatory goal into a more revolutionary one. The unfortunate connotations of violence associated with revolution, however, frequently obscure its relevance in describing the immediate desire for widespread alterations in the black cultural symbolism and the social interaction within the American society.

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<sup>1</sup>Here, social system is used in its broadest sense which also encompasses the economic aspects of the American system which many blacks find unacceptable.



The shift toward a revolutionary attitude as it pertains to the black man's attempt to ~~alter his societal~~ position is primarily due to the ~~white society's~~ having frustrated all other means that blacks have attempted rather than the initial desire of the black man himself. This continual frustration has compelled blacks to turn to "illegitimate means" to achieve their aspirations.<sup>2</sup>

Basic to any successful social movement is an ideology that, on the one hand, justifies the activities of the adherents, and on the other hand defines specific elements of the existing social and cultural structure as corrupt.

#### B. ETHNIC CONSTRAINTS IN AMERICAN SOCIETY

America is both a class and a caste society. Americans are stratified in terms of class characteristics such as wealth, occupational prestige and formal education; in terms of a caste characteristic, race. Because of social, occupational and geographic mobility, class lines are not rigidly drawn in American society. The matter of caste is altogether different. When one group of citizens (in our case, blacks) are assigned to the lowest economic class and when institutional arrangements combine with historical precedent to permit no escape from that assignment, a caste

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<sup>2</sup>It should be noted that the means which evolve from such a situation are illegitimate only from the point of view of the dominant group.



indeed exists. This is the argument supported by advocates of both Black Power and the civil rights movement.<sup>3</sup>

Racism, as used in this thesis is defined in the operational sense. This means that it must be based upon the way people actually behave, rather than upon logical consistency or purely scientific ideas. Therefore, racism may be viewed as any attitude, action, or institutional structure which subordinates a person or group because of his or their color. Even though "race" and "color" refer to two different kinds of human characteristics, in America it is visibility of skin color - and of other physical traits associated with particular colors or groups - that makes individuals "targets" for subordination by members of the so-called white majority.

As a matter of further explanation, racism is not just a matter of attitude: actions and institutional structures can also be forms of racism. An "institutional structure" is any well established, habitual, or widely accepted pattern of action or organizational arrangement, whether formal or informal. For example, the residential segregation of almost all blacks in large cities is an "institutional structure."

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<sup>3</sup>Barbour, Floyd B., The Black Power Revolt, Porter Sargent Publisher, 1968.

Deutsch, Martin, Social Class, Race, and Psychological Development, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1967.





The separation of races is not racism unless it leads to or involves subordination of one group by another (including subordination of whites by blacks). Therefore, favoring the voluntary separation of races is not necessarily a form of racism. It would become racism if members of one group who wanted to cluster together tried to restrict the locational choices of members of some other group in order to achieve such clustering.<sup>4</sup>

No American is poor because his skin is white. Many feel that millions of Americans are poor precisely because their skin is black. Many white immigrant groups suffered discrimination because of their ethnic background, but, as President Johnson's Commission on Racism states, "never was it so pervasive as the prejudice of color in America, which has formed a bar to advancement, unlike any other." Black Power advocates feel blacks have been a caste in American society for over two hundred years with caste membership determined on the basis of skin color. They also feel the white American majority enslaved, politically disenfranchised, exploited and separated the caste of black Americans. For reasons then, of both individual and institutional racism, blacks as a group have remained in the lowest economic stratum. Black Americans are not distributed equally throughout the different occupational, income

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<sup>4</sup>Institutional Racism in American Society, NAVPERS 15243, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973.



and educational groupings in society.<sup>5</sup> However, there are also problems and grievances ~~which poor~~ whites share with ghetto blacks . . . poverty, ~~substandard~~ housing, welfare practices, inferior health care and inadequate schooling. Social mobility is considered the yardstick when considering differences of opinion between advocates of the civil rights movement and their poor white counterparts. The social mobility process may take generations, but many poor whites have moved up the class ladder from lower to middle and middle to upper class. It is argued by supporters of the civil rights movement that the economic position of whites is improving while blacks have always been in the lowest economic category and find themselves constituting a greater percentage of the poor. During the Fifties, for example, there was a net decrease of 200,000 overcrowded housing units occupied by whites, while the number of overcrowded housing units occupied by blacks increased 300,000 units.<sup>6</sup> The assumption then becomes - that while whites are escaping poverty conditions because class barriers alone do not prohibit white Americans from moving up in our society, for blacks in urban and rural ghettos of America, the caste of race is frequently the determinant of their class position.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>5</sup>Institutional Racism in American Society, NAVPERS 15243, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973.

<sup>6</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup>*Ibid.*



### C. INSTITUTIONAL STANDARDS AND SOCIAL/MILITARY JUSTICE

To preclude the risk of generalization about "institutional" racism, it is the intent of the authors' to differentiate institutions as complex entities of society (complete with an organization and value system) from business institutions which also have standards which present barriers to social change.

Institutional standards in American society cannot be generalized and reduced to capsule form. While there may be as many standards as institutions, certain specifics about institutional standards can be discussed to provide the range and category of standards confronting any social movement.

Social institutions are complex entities involving both an organization (formal and informal) and a value system. Institutions could be viewed as the hub, around which the spokes of society function. If society is to change (for better or worse), the institutional hub must be modified to accommodate this change. Society is supported by institutional structure and if conditions/elements within society are considered unacceptable by specific interest groups, the aspirational goal of these groups must be channeled towards changing the heart of society - the institutional organization and/or value system. The tools of disenfranchised society may be identified by mass awareness, concern, and decided action; all prerequisites to social change. It is this very point that is often overlooked by well meaning



advocates of change, the difference between a prerequisite and a solution.

Public institutions may well be drawn by cross purposes of goals. This is evident by varying degrees of commitment given integration by institutions. There could also be a conflict between merit which contributes to the efficiency of an institution and equality of opportunity which may have goals other than performance or efficiency.

Business institutions on the other hand also operate within a framework of standards and values, but these standards and values are intended to preserve minimum levels of efficiency and production. A factory that produces an item such as an automobile has standards that must be met by each automobile assembled. Similarly, a service organization such as a hospital has a level of patient care that the administration feels it must maintain as part of its responsibility to those it serves.

In order to meet achievement standards, business institutions seek to hire those people who will do the best job and who will fit easily into the institution. This means that there must exist another set of standards by which to measure the acceptability of those who seek careers in the institution. These standards take the form of qualifying examinations, personal interviews and required training or experience.

Most administrators in business, civil service, universities, service organizations, and the military have stated





explicitly that a man's race is not one of the standards by which his acceptability is measured. The businessman explains that not only does he believe it to be immoral to practice discrimination in hiring, but it would also hurt the company to turn down needed talent on the basis of race. Using this policy, known as equal opportunity hiring, institutions have attempted to keep their own achievement standards in tact while serving the cause of social justice.

If institutions limit their responsibility to opening their doors to all qualified comers, the subordinate economic status of the black population will be perpetuated indefinitely even if all overt discrimination in acceptance standards is wiped out.

Paternalistic policies, where they involve whites acting on behalf of blacks, foster racism in several ways. First, they deny the ability of blacks to formulate effective solutions for their own problems, thus containing the assumption of white superiority. Second, such policies continue the control of whites over blacks by insisting that the power within poverty programs remain in the hands of whites. Finally, they enable whites to escape their own critical problem of white racism and to avoid criticisms of white institutional behavior.<sup>8</sup>

In varying degrees, the Negro civil rights movement in the United States has been going on for over one hundred

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<sup>8</sup>Institutional Racism in American Society, NAVPERS 15243, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973.



years and constitutes an important element in the overall struggle for greater individual freedom. Prior to World War II, the American military institutions contained many of the same patterns of racial prejudice that were prevalent in the general society. Charles E. Silberman noted in his book, Crisis in Black and White,<sup>9</sup> that the cross-cultural exchanges and multiracial situations resulting from World War II dramatized the basic morality of equal rights for all peoples and races. The rapid changes which characterized the racial patterns of post-World War II American society were witnessed in the Nation's Armed Forces, and in many instances the Armed Forces were able to accommodate better to the necessary changes than the greater society.

While progress toward greater Negro civil rights was considerable between 1940 and 1960, many people (black and white) stated that the rate of change was too slow. These people then advocated a departure from all legal procedures. Negro civil rights' activities became increasingly marked by illegitimate measures that challenged the legitimacy of established authority and instilled fear within the general population. Then, when a large segment of the society regarded civil rights' activity as dangerous and reacted with suppressive measures, the civil rights movement took on the appearance of a revolution.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>9</sup>Charles E. Silberman, Crisis in Black and White, Random House, 1964.

<sup>10</sup>*Op. Cit.*, p. 87.



#### D. THE BLACK PERSPECTIVE

The connotation of the word revolution immediately factions people into their respective emotional camps. A more objective term could be "restructuring" or re-arrangement." Perhaps the most fundamental aspect of the present black perspective is the collective assertion of ability, desire, and need to re-arrange institutional structures. Those who adhere to this point of view believe that these institutional structures must be re-made to meet the needs of blacks in America.<sup>11</sup>

It is further believed by advocates of Black Power that blackness, as a highly visible quality, can become the objective of positive, as well as negative, evaluation by those who possess the quality. Just as it can operate to exclude, it can operate to include. Those who support the call for Black Power seem to be redefining "blackness" in just such a manner, stressing its positive aspects and using it to unite the black community with a feeling of brotherhood.<sup>12</sup>

Another important aspect of the black perspective is the learning experience with which minority persons are faced. Such an experience is frequently described as culminating in a negative self-evaluation.<sup>13</sup> The minority person learns

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<sup>11</sup>Stokely Carmichael and Charles Hamilton, Black Power, the Politics of Liberation in America, p. 19, Vintage Books, 1967.

<sup>12</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>13</sup>This point is stressed in Jean D. Grambs' book, Negro Self-Concept, McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1965.





not merely that his distinctive characteristics is inferior; that he belongs to an inferior group and, therefore, he must act according to a specifically limiting role, a role that does not allow the person to be himself.

Thus, the term "Black Power" includes ideological and normative implications concerning "blackness" as well as the important aspect of implementation of this new perspective - the power aspect of the term.

However, not all blacks subscribe to the "black characteristic capsule" - the feeling of inferior because of belonging to a so-called inferior group. This is strongly supported by numerous black Americans in all phases of employment. Representative of this "group" of black Americans is Don H. Alexander, a lending officer with the Seattle-First National Bank. He stated that perhaps one of the most interesting phenomena taking place in the ghettos is that the black man is beginning to believe in the "American dream." The American dream is what made the Italians leave Italy, the Irish leave Ireland, the Germans leave Germany, and more recently, the Hungarians leave Hungary. The American dream said to these immigrants, "Come to America and you will have religious freedom, political power, educational opportunities, full employment; and if you have that certain type of mystic characteristic called ambition, we will make businessmen out of you."<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>14</sup>Don H. Alexander, "What Do You Want, Mr. Black Businessman?", Ebony, 25:27-28, August 1971.



The black man is saying - I am already here in America, and I want a piece of the action too. I want to channel my energies, my talents, and my know-how and become a successful businessman.

Alexander is also realistic when confronted by those who question black business failures. "Most often you hear that a businessman went broke because of lack of money. Not so! The majority of businesses that go belly-up do so because of bad management. The reason black businesses fail is no exception."<sup>15</sup>

#### E. THE PROBLEM

##### 1. As Viewed by Black Power Advocates

The primary problem facing both the Black Power and civil rights movement is one of leadership.

Blacks are now seeking a new consciousness, i.e., attempting to develop a stronger sense of community and pride in being black. This feeling of pride cannot be instilled by well-meaning liberal whites. Rather, black leadership is needed for this purpose.<sup>16</sup> Leaders such as Stokely Carmichael, Nathan Hare, and Harry Edwards realize that in order for blacks to acquire this new consciousness they must have the power to control the aspects of society

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<sup>15</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>16</sup>Floyd B. Borbour, The Black Power Revolt, p. 225, Collier Books, 1968.



which have the greatest influence on their lives, i.e., housing within their community, etc.<sup>17</sup>

However, Stokely Carmichael, Nathan Hare, and Harry Edwards do not comprise the total voice of the black community. Other "leaders" have also voiced their ideas and opinions, and oftentimes find their ideas running counter to those of Carmichael, Hare and Edwards. These other "leaders" (or preachings) include such men as Charles Hamilton, Bayard Rustin, Eldridge Cleaver, Alvin F. Poussaint, Georg Simmel, the late Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and others - each viewpoint to be discussed in the Theoretical Framework section of this chapter.

Another problem concerns the selection of goals within the Black Power and civil rights movement. Goal congruance is not only closely tied to movement leadership, but dependent. However, most black leaders will agree that the Black Power movement shows promise to bridging the gap between the former inferior status of blacks, which many had accepted, to this new consciousness and pride in being black. In other words, what has been suggested is that the Black Power movement has changed the image of blacks, and thus, has changed their self-concept. Carmichael and Hamilton concur when they state that "the black community will have a positive image of itself that it has created."<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>17</sup>Stokely Carmichael and Charles Hamilton, Black Power, the Politics of Liberation in America, Vintage Books, 1967.

<sup>18</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 19.



However, a consortium of documented future goals remain an issue.

## 2. As Viewed by the Military Institutional Structure

The Negro civil rights movement will continue to have considerable influence upon every aspect of American society. The nation's military "establishment" has been affected by the movement in the same manner as private institutions. The morality of the movement notwithstanding, the Negro civil rights' actions have produced definite constraints for the military capability of the United States.

The most important of these constraints is the one produced by the coalition of civil rights organizations and the antimilitary organizations. This coalition spearheaded the shift of public opinion away from support of the late Vietnam conflict. On the surface, it appeared that the two did not possess enough common goals to justify such an alliance, but the concern of the civil rights leaders over the priority given Vietnam vice domestic reform programs' caused them to align themselves with the antimilitary group.

The identification of the civil rights movement with the antimilitary movement was given its greatest boost in April 1962, when the late Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., took a strong public stand on the issue. Labelling the American government as "the greatest purveyor of violence in the world," Dr. King called for a halt in the bombing of North and South Vietnam, a unilateral cease-fire, the withdrawal of American troops, and negotiation with the National Liberation Front. He urged all blacks and "white people of





goodwill" to boycott the draft by seeking conscientious objector status until his program was achieved. Dr. King indicated that there were three primary reasons which compelled him to take a stand against the Vietnam War; first, an awareness that the war was "playing havoc with domestic destinies" and making it more difficult to implement programs to deal with the economic and social programs of the blacks and poor people generally; second, a fear that constant escalation of the war could lead to a grand war with China and another world war; and third, the extension to international affairs of his personal philosophy of non-violence.<sup>19</sup>

Even though Dr. King did not gain the immediate backing of other civil rights leaders to his position, he was a man of international stature and the acknowledged leader of the American Negro civil rights movement. His influence among blacks was great, and his association with the antimilitary groups was of great significance on the national scene.

The growing public disillusionment with the Vietnam War, of which Dr. King's declaration was an essential part, made it more difficult for the military to end the war in Vietnam by reducing its ability to generate effective military-political pressure. A group of fourteen American scholars asserted this in December of 1967. These men, some

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<sup>19</sup>"Dr. King to Weigh Civil Disobedience if War Intensifies," The New York Times, p. 1:4, 76:1, April 2, 1967.



of whom were authorities on Asian affairs, warned that the risk of confrontation would increase unless means of accommodation were found by nations possessing interest in the Pacific. In addition they stated:

"Hanoi is placing considerable hope at present upon the theory that the United States will end in Vietnam as did France - forced to accept defeat by a combination of internal political considerations and external pressures. As long as the Communists believe in this likelihood, they will take their present hard line position. Only when they decide that the internal political resources of the United States match in some degree its external military power will any solution other than unconditional surrender become feasible. In this sense, the outcome is being decided on the streets and in the homes of America as in the jungles of Vietnam. Both the government and its critics should face up to these facts."<sup>20</sup>

Just as the civil rights movement served as a restraint upon the ability of American forces in Vietnam to complete their mission, it also restricted the use of military resources. The very purpose of American intervention - to guarantee the South Vietnamese people the right to self-determination - has helped focus the attention of the problem of minority rights in the United States. It has demanded a consistency of policy in which civil rights and equality of opportunity for members of American minority groups have had to be considered in the Department of Defense planning.

#### F. THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS

The subject of Black Power and its relationship to the self-concept of black military personnel has numerous theoretical implications.

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<sup>20</sup>"Excerpts from a Statement on U.S. Policy in Asia Made by 14 American Scholars," The New York Times, p. 14:1, 12/20/70.



It is both the premise of this thesis and the point of view of Alvin F. Poussaint (a noted black professor of psychiatry and author) that the Black Power movement has improved the self-concept of blacks.<sup>21</sup> Jean Grambs points out that the manner in which a person views himself has much to do with his behavior. Thus, if blacks are proud of themselves and their heritage, they are more likely to transfer this into positive action, i.e., take charge of their own organizations and communities. Grambs' point can also be related to W. I. Thomas' idea that "if men define situations as real, they are real in their consequences."<sup>22</sup> From this, the self-fulfilling prophecy has emerged. If, as Thomas states, blacks define themselves as proud and persons of worth, they will act in such a manner as to justify their definition.

Charles Horton Cooley's idea of the "looking-glass self" is related to the idea just discussed - significant and generalized others. Cooley points out that one's "self-idea" has three components; first, how we imagine we appear to other people; second, our imagination of his judgement of our appearance; and third, some type of reaction such as pride. In other words, the individual adopts the view of himself by taking into account the manner in which others react to him. Thus, if those individuals who have contact

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<sup>21</sup>Alvin F. Poussaint, "A Psychiatrist Looks at Black Power," Ebony, 22:142-150, March 1969.

<sup>22</sup>James W. Vander Zanden, American Minority Relations, The Ronald Press Company, 1966.



with a black person act positively and express the attitude that "black is beautiful" and that blacks should be proud of their color, this reflected image of himself should have a positive effect on his self-concept.<sup>23</sup>

- The current Black Power movement also has ramifications in other aspects of social theory. Georg Simmel as shown that conflict has group-binding functions. Thus, blacks taken as a separate group would be more closely bound together because of their conflicts with the white society.<sup>24</sup> Here, the Black Power advocates are defined as the in-group and are suppressed by the dominant white out-group. In this case, the friction with whites that Dr. King, Bayard Rustin and others thought would result from the Black Power movement could have had beneficial effects in that it more closely unites blacks.

Another related point that Simmel makes is that conflict is an index of stability within a society. If this is true, then the American society is healthier because of the introduction of the Black Power concept. Prior to its inception, much of the ill feelings and potential conflict was internationalized and was never demonstrated. As a result of the urging of Stokely Carmichael and others, blacks were no longer hesitant to make their dissatisfactions and needs

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<sup>23</sup>Georg Simmel, Conflict and the Web of Group Affiliations, The Free Press, 1955.

<sup>24</sup>Charles Horton Cooley, Human Nature and the Social Order, quoted in Morris Rosenberg, Society and the Adolescent Self-Image, p. 11, Princeton University Press, 1965.





known to themselves and to the white society. Simmel would view this as a healthy situation.

Another relevant point that Simmel makes is that conflict creates associations and coalitions.<sup>25</sup> This perspective would be in contradiction to the views of Black Power supporters. It was their idea that, because of the unsuccessful coalitions that had been previously formed, whites could not be counted on as reliable allies, especially in conflict situations. One could look at the current black situation; however, and justifiably point out that conflict with whites may very well draw the various factions of the black community together into coalitions.

Floyd Hunter, in his book Community Power Structure, also makes a point that can be related to the current Black Power movement. Hunter was concerned with power in relation to the context of the community. He maintained that the community was the basic source for such power and was the place where power relations could be observed most easily.<sup>26</sup>

Using a very similar framework, Carmichael though that the local community should be the focus for the attempts by blacks to gain power. He also stressed that blacks must

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<sup>25</sup>*Op. Cit.*

<sup>26</sup>Floyd Hunter, Community Power Structure, A Study of Decision Makers, Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1963.



have self determination in their communities and rid themselves of the onus of having to depend on whites for leadership.

In a collective sense, the concepts of separatism and integration remain a key issue within the black community. Advocates of separatism support the idea that the traditional "class analysis" of society as favored by Marxists simply does not apply to Black America, because in the eyes of the white community there are no black classes - all blacks are ultimately indistinguishable. A renowned black statesman or scholar passing by chance through a town undergoing a serious racial disturbance will be treated exactly like every other black in that community. Sound credentials, integrated upbringing and powerful connections cannot protect him when white racist feelings are running high.

The simplistic Marxist argument that the race problem is essentially a class problem, a result of the capitalistic structure of American society, is also invalid in the American context. "Overthrow capitalism and usher in a racist-free era of socialism" is the usual response of the Marxists to black separatism, for they view black separatism as a dangerous diversionary tactic which risks delaying the particular revolution which they favor.<sup>27</sup>

However, despite the disturbing nature of overt and covert threats to black survival, they probably contribute

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<sup>27</sup>Robert S. Browne, "Separatism," Ebony, 25:10, p. 50, August 1970.



less to the mental anguish of the black man in a white society than does his problem of identification.<sup>28</sup>

The mood in the ghetto today is in a state of unprecedented change and in this new climate a sense of nationhood is groping for expression. It may hold within it the key to mental health for Black America and the ultimate form in which this sense of nationhood will manifest itself cannot now be foreseen. One can, however, be sure that black people will never again allow themselves to accede to "integration" as the sole possible route to their liberation. It is a rational act of healthy people who, through a long and bitter experience have learned that they must look to themselves, not to others, if they are ever to achieve their full liberation.<sup>29</sup>

Advocates supporting integration, counter the arguments of the separatists by stating that those in the black community who feel that integration is the way to achieve their goals and desires should support the idea that they must continue their struggle in whatever regime is set up. Integrationists believe that a joining together in full partnership with other Americans who seek change is the way to a new life.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>28</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>29</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>30</sup>Roy Wilkins, "Integration," Ebony, 25:10, p. 58, August 1970.



Dr. Andrew F. Brimmer is more specific on the theme of integration and supports the ~~idea of economic~~ integration as the path the black community ~~should~~ follow. He states that a solid economic foundation is a necessary precondition for genuine political power and a necessity for any culture to flourish. This is true for ethnic groups within a country as well as for the nation as a whole. He views separatism as a process that restricts blacks - in the same way that a protective tariff in international trade shields the home market from foreign competition.<sup>31</sup>

#### G. THEORIES OF BLACK POWER

Adam Clayton Powell has been credited with coining the term "Black Power" in May 1966, during an address at Howard University:

"Human rights are God-given. Civil rights are man-made. . . Our lives must be purposed to implement human rights. . . To demand these God-given rights is to seek Black Power - the power to build black institutions of splendid achievement."<sup>32</sup>

Although Powell first used the term, Stokely Carmichael popularized the slogan during a civil rights march in Greenville, Mississippi. He told the marchers, "We want Black Power, we want Black Power."

From its inception, the call for Black Power has been a very emotional cry. The white society immediately perceived

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<sup>31</sup>Dr. Andrew F. Brimmer, "Economic Integration and the Progress of the Negro Community," Ebony, 25:10, p. 118-119, August 1970.

<sup>32</sup>Floyd B. Barbour, ed., *Op. Cit.*





it as an onslaught of violence and reverse racism. There was much confusion even in the black community over exactly what the new slogan actually meant. This confusion was not due to the lack of explanation on Carmichael's part. He stated that Black Power was a call for blacks to unite in the country, not against whites but for blacks. He stressed that blacks should be proud of their heritage and proud of their color. Carmichael believed that blacks should define their own goals and lead their own organizations. These ideas should not be construed as being "anti-white."<sup>33</sup>

Rather, in order for the black man to achieve the dignity and self-respect which all men desire, he must feel and demonstrate that he is capable of overseeing his own affairs. For this reason, Carmichael stressed the importance of having blacks in the leadership capacities of civil rights groups such as the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. He further stated that:

"Before a group can enter the open society, it must first close ranks. By this we mean that group solidarity is necessary before a group can operate effectively from a bargaining position of strength in a pluralistic society."<sup>34</sup>

Opponents of those who support Black Power claim that it is nothing more than black racism. According to Vander Zanden, "Racism is essentially the doctrine that one racial

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<sup>33</sup>Carmichael and Hamilton, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

<sup>34</sup>James W. Vander Zanden, *American Minority Relations*, Ronald Press Company, 1966.



or ethnic group is destined to superiority."<sup>35</sup> Clearly, Black Power does not qualify as a racist concept. No claim is made about black superiority; rather, the claim is that blacks should have the power to control their own affairs.

Closely related to the charge that Black Power is racism in reverse is the idea that blacks should not advocate Black Power because of the possible "backlash" that it would cause in the white community. If this backlash does in fact occur, we could conjecture that it is an indication that the racist structure of our American society is merely trying to defend itself.

Black Power advocates such as Carmichael and Floyd McKissick stress that coalitions are not necessary in order for blacks to further themselves. Carmichael postulates that there are three basic reasons why blacks should not strive for coalitions with whites. First, he believes that those groups with which blacks could form coalitions do not share the Black Power perspective that the entire racist social system must be recognized. Most white people believe that areas within the system need to be changed, but that the overall American social structure should be maintained. Carmichael believes that the influence that the racist society has had on all white is too much to overcome to be an effective ally of the Black Power movement.

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<sup>35</sup>James W. Vander Zanden, American Minority Relations, Ronald Press Company, 1966.



The second reason why blacks should not seek white coalitions is that blacks are politically and economically insecure and that their coalitions would be with whites who are both economically and politically secure. Such an environment would breed an alliance which would be a tenuous relationship at best.<sup>36</sup>

Black Power advocates also question whether or not political coalitions can be sustained by appeals to conscience or moral considerations. They assert that political questions are not susceptible to moral pressures. They also point out that "morality and sentiment cannot weather such conflict, and black people must realize this."<sup>37</sup> It is the authors' belief that the third postulate is the one that leaves itself most open to criticism. It does not seem inconsistent that many whites feel a moral obligation to rectify the present racial situation in this country. Necessarily, this obligation is an important aspect of the present American society.

Alvin Poussaint points out a further reason why coalitions between blacks and whites often do not work. Referring to civil rights workers, he states that there tends to be an abundance of "social-sexual hang-ups," which eventually

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<sup>36</sup>Carmichael does not expand on what he means by economic and political security; however, poor whites in America would rarely be considered economically secure.

<sup>37</sup>Carmichael and Hamilton, *op. cit.*, p. 76.



negates any possible positive effects that the coalition might cause.<sup>38</sup>

The Black Power perspective concerning coalitions may best be summarized by stating that leaders such as McKissick and Carmichael believe that blacks should first organize themselves and define their own goals. Then, if necessary, they can investigate possible available allies.

The most prominent figure to refute the Black Power perspective is Bayard Rustin. Rustin is of the opinion that Black Power actually hurts the black movement because it isolates blacks and encourages anti-black forces.<sup>39</sup> Related to this point, Rustin further states the Black Power is also harmful because of the division it has caused within the black leadership structure. Ever since the assassinations of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. and Malcolm X, the community has lacked a leader that commanded the following of either of the two slain leaders. Nearly all black leaders agree that this lack of unity has been a hindering factor preventing the undertaking of a more forceful approach to change the structure of the American society. Carmichael and Rustin also disagree over what effect bloc voting has in effecting a significant change in the life style of the

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<sup>38</sup>Alvin F. Poussaint, *op. cit.*

<sup>39</sup>It seems likely that those individuals in the white society who are encouraged by Black Power to act in a negative manner towards blacks probably would be inclined to act in such a manner even without Black Power being mentioned.





black man. Carmichael asserts that an important aspect of Black Power is the political power that can be manifested as the result of this new black consciousness. He stresses that blacks should vote in blocs in order to exert more pressure on the white dominant power structure. Rustin goes further, however, and believes that blacks voting as a bloc exert little or no power when viewing the nation as a whole. He readily admits that in specific isolated instances blacks have banded together to elect their own candidates; however, such instances are rare and blacks, by themselves, do not yield sufficient power to alter their present situation to any great degree. Rustin's answer, not surprisingly, lies in the formation of coalitions with other minorities. He believes that the added numbers which coalition politics brings are a more pragmatic answer to the problems facing blacks rather than Carmichael's idea of blacks working by themselves.

This disagreement between Carmichael and Rustin can be viewed as a conflict between the pluralistic and assimilatory perspectives. Black Power advocates, who espouse the former concept, believe the American social structure should be able to encompass two differing cultural backgrounds, i.e., both black and white cultures. More moderate black leaders, however, maintain the point of view that the white and black life styles should become fused into a single harmonious structure. This disagreement over which is the more advantageous perspective is yet another indication of the lack of unity in the black leadership structure in



America. There also appears to be a lag between the leadership offered by Black Power advocates and the beliefs of the typical black person in this country. While leaders such as Carmichael and McKissick favor the pluralistic viewpoint, it is the authors' belief that it would be more typical that the average black man would favor the assimilatory strategy..<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>40</sup>Wagley and Harris substantiate this point in their study of American minorities. (See Joseph C. Hough, Jr., Black Power and White Protestants, Oxford University Press, 1968) It should be noted, however, that the current trend is probably shifting more and more toward pluralistic perspective of the Black Power movement.



## II. REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

### A. ADVOCATES OF BLACK POWER

Supporters of the factors comprising the Black Power philosophy can be seen throughout our history. One of its more well-known advocates is Marcus Garvey who did much of his work shortly after the turn of the century. Although he did use the specific phrase, "Black Power," he spoke of many of the same ideas that Carmichael and others have called for more recently. Garvey stated that the time had come for all Negroes to join together, to use their own leadership, and to establish goals that would further the progress of all Negroes. He thought that one of the primary goals for which they should strive was human liberty. Garvey formed an organization that faced much of the same hostility that Black Power supporters are faced with today. The Universal Negro Improvement Association, as it was called, was continually accused of creating disharmony among races. Many people also believed that the organization was an anti-white group which intended to malign all people who differed with their point of view. Garvey and his followers were not passivists; however, he stated many times their only purpose was to better the condition of Negroes both in America and Africa and to demand the respect which all humanity desired.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>41</sup>Joanne Grant, ed., Black Protest, Fawcett Publications Inc., 1968; Harold Cruse, The Crisis of the Negro Intellectual, William Morrow & Company, 1967.



Garvey is also perceived by integrationists (supported by Roy Wilkins) as a separatist. Garvey had an advantage which present day separatists also enjoy: he was advocating something that millions of white Americans purportedly were hoping for. Garvey supposedly would lead his following in hopes of setting up a separate state - a black state. This would result in the removal of millions of blacks from the midst of white America. The Garvey creed was simply reverse racism. White was inferior and black superior. In his African church, God was black, as was the Virgin Mary, but Satan was white. The Garvey "Black Christ" concept has been taken over in total by some of today's black clergymen-entrepreneurs. However, Carveyism has been rejected by the mass of black Americans.<sup>42</sup>

Another individual who foresaw the struggle that blacks were facing in attempting to gain power was Frederick Douglass. Although he preceded Carmichael, McKissick, Hare, and others by more than a century, he very accurately anticipated the problems that blacks would be facing one hundred years later.<sup>43</sup> He believed that in order for freedom to exist within a society, a certain amount of turmoil

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<sup>42</sup>Roy Wilkins, "Integration," p. 55, Ebony, 25:10, August 1970.

<sup>43</sup>This may be an indication of two possible situations; first, that he did, in fact, have great foresight or, second and more likely, that Douglass was facing the same problems in the pre-abolition era that blacks are facing in 1974, i.e., very little "progress" has actually taken place concerning the problems confronting blacks in America.





and agitation were necessary. He used the analogy that, if crops were to grow, the ground ~~must be~~ plowed.<sup>44</sup> It was also his contention that the ~~dominant~~ power structure would make no concessions to any group merely because they asked politely; rather, they must demand change. Civil rights workers found this still to be true in the 1960's. Whereas in the past, if blacks asked to be allowed to use the same facilities as whites, i.e., busses, restaurants, etc., little or nothing was done. However, since the advocacy of confronting the white power structure with demands, more change appears to be taking place.<sup>45</sup>

Carmichael maintains much the same point of view. He thinks that if blacks do nothing more than make meed demands and smile, this will be deluding the white society into a false sense of security. As has been mentioned above, Black Power to Carmichael means that blacks should come together as a political power bloc and force the white power structure to meet the needs of black people. These needs are not limited to political issues. Rather, they encompass the economic structure, the educational system, and the social structure of blacks.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>45</sup>Recent problems facing many colleges and universities attest to this very point. Black students "asked" for Black Studies departments to be instituted for as long, sometimes, as three years with no results. They then found that if what they had heretofore asked was demanded, sometimes under threat, results were seen much sooner.

<sup>46</sup>Floyd B. Barbour, ed., *op. cit.*, p. 63-76; Carmichael and Hampton, *op. cit.*, p. 34-56; Carmichael, "Black Power," *Ebony*, 21:27-30, September 1966; Grant, ed., *op. cit.*, p. 460-466; Hough, *op. cit.*, p. 84-111.



Floyd McKissick's views concerning Black Power are clearly stated in the book, The Black Power Revolt. In the book, he points out that the Black Power movement is a valuable tool in that it would aid blacks in achieving new power in six different areas: first, the expansion of black political power; second, the building of economic power for blacks; third, the improvement of the black self-image; fourth, the development of blacks in the leadership capacity of their community; fifth, the attainment of judicial Federal law enforcement; and sixth, the implementation of black consumer power.<sup>47</sup> As one can immediately see, McKissick stresses the aspect of consumer power to a greater degree than does Carmichael.<sup>48</sup> In the former's attitude that if blacks unite in a consumer power bloc they will be able to do away with many of the disgraceful situations that blacks are confronted with daily. He had in mind, particularly, locations such as San Francisco and the Bedford-Stuyvesant area in New York where shop owners were charging higher prices for goods of lesser quality than merchants in more affluent suburban areas. Both McKissick and Carmichael agree that the key to the Black Power issue lies in significant numbers of blacks joining together and speaking in a loud and unified voice.

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<sup>47</sup>Floyd B. Barbour, ed., *op. cit.*, p. 211.

<sup>48</sup>This concept, again, can be traced to one of the founders of the Black Power philosophy, Marcus Garvey. He was one of the earlier black leaders to use the slogan, "Buy Black."



Perhaps Alvin F. Poussaint provides the most complete summary regarding this "togetherness" concept. He stated, "we talk so much about black unity, but some of the people crying black togetherness seem to create ways to keep us divided and fragmented. Sometimes it appears that we should worry more about how we split among ourselves and less about how whites keep us divided. We have to give up the narrow individualistic approach so that the blacks in Harlem can relate to the blacks in Mississippi and feel that common bond. I believe the best chance for black survival lies in black solidarity, with the mental strength to deal in the affairs of the whole world."<sup>49</sup>

Another aspect of Black Power heretofore not discussed is the question of what effect white power has had on the Black Power movement. Nathan Hare, a prominent black leader and former professor of Stokely Carmichael, points out that white power is so pervasive and "natural" in this country that the white "oppressors" are hardly aware of its existence. Hare is quick, however, to point out exactly what is meant by the term. He states that it is white power that keeps the income level of blacks to half what it is of whites; that it is white power that causes the average black man to die ten years earlier than the average white; and it is white power that is sending healthy, young black men to fight in Vietnam and die at rates far exceeding that of

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<sup>49</sup>Alvin F. Poussaint, "Dialog on Separatism," p. 68 Ebony, 25:10, August 1970.



whites for rights for the Vietnamese that they themselves do not have in America.<sup>50</sup> Hare also cynically points out the color consciousness in our society that many whites fail to see:

"Both black and white children are taught in school to honor white Patrick Henry (yes, the color of his skin does and did matter) who stood and said 'give me liberty or give me death'. Should a Negro stand and say the self-same words, they would more than likely give him death."<sup>51</sup>

Hare goes on to explain why Black Power is needed as a philosophical perspective of the new black movement. He believes that the non-violent attitude of the past has outlived its usefulness. He states that tactics (such as non-violence) are useful only until the opposition is able to anticipate your moves, after which they become dysfunctional to the movement.

Nathan Wright, in his book Black Power and Urban Unrest, points out that the "consciousness of in-group solidarity" which Black Power fosters is a quality that many groups enjoy. He sights the intense pride that Jews, Irish and Scotch-Irish feel toward themselves and further points out that blacks have had this sense of pride stripped from them. Black Power he feels, will help restore this positive outlook of blacks toward themselves.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>50</sup>Floyd B. Barbour, ed., *op. cit.*, p. 216.

<sup>51</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 217.

<sup>52</sup>Nathan Wright, Jr., Black Power and Urban Unrest, Hawthorn Books, Inc., 1967.





Alvin Poussaint corroborates the views held by Wright.<sup>53</sup> He points out that because of the current Black Power movement blacks have been instilled with a greater sense of black awareness and pride in their heritage. (It is interesting to note that Nathan Wright discussed black heritage in terms of being a "European-American Indian-Black African hybrid." In his discussion he stressed that most blacks were of European background. When Poussaint refers to the historical background of blacks he makes reference only to African ancestry.) Poussaint also brings out the point that in most cases this newly found self-concept which blacks are now experiencing is causing a positive change in their attitude toward themselves; however, there are some individuals who have made Black Power a "blacker-than-thou" status game. He is quick to point out; that it is probably better for Negroes to try and be as black as possible rather than being as white as possible, which was the pattern previously.

A lesser well known, but still important figure in the formation of the Black Power philosophy is Joseph Hough. In his book, Black Power and White Protestants, Hough states that even though Malcolm X preceded Carmichael, he still had an important influence on the ideas of great numbers of blacks today. Had it not been for Malcolm X's change in attitude about the "white devil" after visiting Mecca, the

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<sup>53</sup>Floyd B. Barbour, ed., *op. cit.*, p. 106-116; Alvin F. Poussaint, *op. cit.*; C. Van Woddward, The Strage Career of Jim Crow, Oxford University Press, 1955.



current race relations could have been more strained than they already are. Prior to his trip, ~~Malcolm~~ stressed many of the same things ~~that the Black Power~~ advocates now do, i.e., self-determination, uniting together to form power blocs, etc., however, he also believed all whites were "devils" and saw little chance of blacks and whites living together in brotherhood. After visiting Mecca and witnessing men of all colors living together in peace, Malcolm X altered his previous position and thought that possibly there was hope for blacks and whites to coexist in the same social structure.

#### B. TRANSITIONAL PERSPECTIVE

Martin Luther King, Jr., proved to be an important figure in the eventual acceptance of Black Power by large numbers of blacks. Although he opposed Carmichael's views at first, he later accepted the call for Black Power. In 1966, Dr. King was quoted as saying that Black Power was... "unwise because of its violent connotations." He continued, stating, "I can confidently believe the call for Black Power will rapidly diminish."<sup>54</sup> Just over a year later, however, Dr. King stated that Black Power was a call for blacks to unite and to exert their economic and political strength for legitimate goals. He even went further, pointing out that

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<sup>54</sup>Martin Luther King, Jr., "Black Power and Martin Luther King," The Progressive, 30:15-16, November 1966.



no one can deny that blacks need this kind of power.<sup>55</sup> Dr. King, like many others in both the black and white communities, seemed hesitant at first to support the Black Power perspective. However, when it became apparent that this slogan did not mean that violence was imminent, Dr. King and many other blacks more readily accepted the new philosophy.

### C. BLACK POWER OPPOSITION

The most vocal and well known opponent of Black Power (within the black community), is Bayard Rustin. He takes a radically different point of view from that of Carmichael and his supporters. It is Rustin's opinion that Black Power is nothing more than an emotional phrase which has done little except polarize black/white relationships. As was briefly mentioned earlier, Rustin believes that Black Power is also the reason for the split in the leadership of the civil rights movement. He further is of the opinion that the movement which Carmichael had popularized is primarily concerned with political power. He attracts the latter's ideas as being too idealistic and asserts that just because the blacks were able successfully to organize Lowndes County, Alabama, this was far from an indication that this same procedure could be realistically employed on a nation-wide basis. Rustin also introduces a new concept

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<sup>55</sup>"Black Power and Black Pride," Time, 99:20-21, December 1967.



that Carmichael and other Black Power leaders fail to comment on: namely, that the color of the politician was not the important point; rather, it was what political perspective he represents. He justifies this comment by stating there were a number of areas in the United States that are presently represented by black politicians, and yet school segregation continues to worsen.<sup>56</sup> Rustin also differs with many of those who believe in Black Power, in that he believes that blacks will continue to place their faith in the Democratic party. He states that to blacks the party means progress, i.e., the New Deal, the New Frontier, and the Great Society.<sup>57</sup> Carmichael on the other hand, believes that the Democratic party is the party of the past for blacks and represents Eugene "Bull" Connors, Sheriff Jim Clark, James Eastland and other of similar political perspective. At this point one cannot say which, if either, is correct. Sufficient time has not passed to obtain a proper historical perspective on the issues. There has been a great deal of talk in recent months about the possibility of forming another party comprised of poor and disenfranchised whites and blacks; however, to date, this idea has not progressed beyond the discussion stage.

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<sup>56</sup> Black Power advocates feel Rustin failed to deal with the entire philosophy of Black Power by concentrating primarily on the political aspects of the concept.

<sup>57</sup> English, H. B., and English, Ava C., A Comprehensive Dictionary of Psychological and Psychoanalytical Terms, quoted in Ruth C. Wylie, The Self Concept, p. 1, University of Nebraska Press, 1961.





Arthur A. Fletcher, Assistant Secretary of Labor, sheds a different light on what he ~~considers~~ transitional perspective. He does not recognize or "hitch his wagon" to any subunit within the black movement striving for recognition or social reform. He does; however, state his opinion on what course of action he thinks most beneficial to the total black community. He supports neither a separated nor partially integrated society - but an open society. Fletcher states that a totally integrated (open) society has been the ultimate goal of Black America ever since the first black man set foot on this continent. To move from the present to the ultimate will require a transitional stage - an interim stage described as an open society - one in which blacks and other racial minorities can, for the first time in history of this country, exercise freedom of choice in their daily affairs. He further supports his belief by stating that Black America has definitely moved from a totally segregated society into one where the concept of desegregation has not only been established but is rapidly being realized. Court decisions and legislation enacted during the past two decades have helped to bring about and secure this change. In fact, because the concept of desegregation is all but achieved, Black America must sustain the gains already realized by now moving to the next plateau - that of an open society.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> Arthur A. Fletcher, "Neither Separated Nor Integrated - But An Open Society," Ebony, 25:10, p. 145, August 1970.



### III. METHODOLOGY

Thus far, the Black Power concept has been described and discussed both by the advocates and the opposition. Although there are stated "strategy" differences among leaders with the Black Power movement, there is a consensus of basic ideals (or goals) which black leaders regard as essential if the movement is to succeed. These basic goals can be summarized as follows: pride in heritage, pride in being black, unity of the black community, use of force (if necessary) to obtain the goals sought by Black America, and effective black leadership with the Black Power movement.<sup>59</sup>

It is assumed that blacks in all walks of life are familiar (in varying degrees) with the Black Power concept and its' general platform. Of particular interest to the authors however, was to what extent blacks in the military accord with the actual platform of Black Power. Of equal importance, was the response black military personnel might provide regarding their opinions of some of the goals Black Power leaders find themselves at odds with.

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<sup>59</sup>Floyd B. Barbour, ed., The Black Power Revolt, Porter Sargent Publisher, 1968; Leonard Broom and Norval D. Glenn, Transformation of the Negro American, Harper & Row, 1965; S. P. Fullinwider, The Mind and Mood of Black America, The Dorsey Press, 1969; Martin Luther King, Jr., "Black Power and Martin Luther King," The Progressive, 30-15-16, November 1966.



To acquire these responses of individual opinion and attitude, an interview sheet was prepared and the authors permitted access to a large military complex for the purpose of interviewing as many black military personnel as possible. The one constraining stipulation was that the names of organizations and personnel must not be used for publication, and therefore remain confidential.

The data sample was drawn from one hundred forty nine interviews of black military personnel conducted over a three month period. Each interview was an individual recordation and subsequently tabulated into a data display format - where interviewee responses to questions (variables) are applied against static individual characteristic data.

Statistical analysis of this data is in the form of percentages relating to the responses to key questions by the interviewees. This analysis is also presented in the data display format described above.

#### A. INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRE INSTRUMENT

The instrument used for this study was an interview questionnaire designed by the authors.<sup>60</sup> The basic features include three categories of questions: first, questions concerning general data characteristics, i.e., pay grade, age, sex, marital status, etc.; second, questions specifically relating to the Black Power movement; and third,

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<sup>60</sup>The questions measuring the respondent's self-concept were designed by the authors' but heavily influenced by Morris Rosenberg's book, Society and the Adolescent Self-Image, pp. 305-307, Princeton University Press, 1965.



questions regarding the self-concept of blacks, i.e., how blacks view themselves.

The actual conduct of the interviews did pose a problem for the authors. It was the original idea to interview approximately five hundred black military personnel at two widely separated military installations. However, due to the lack of cooperation with a number of personnel at one major installation, the authors' data sample had to be obtained in total from only one military base.<sup>61</sup> In addition, there was some reluctance upon the respondents to answer questions presented by "white guys talking Black Power." This same reluctance would still be present regardless of the data collection instrument utilized; the black community would prefer to discuss Black Power with black people.

Nevertheless, one hundred forty nine black military personnel were interviewed and their responses to key questions on the interview questionnaire weighted heavily in the final analysis.

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<sup>61</sup>It should be noted that the lack of cooperation was not particularly surprising and was due to a number of legitimate reasons. Black military personnel at one specific military installation had been enundated with questionnaires in recent months. This apparently due to enterprising poll takers concerned with the November state and local elections. A number of blacks at another military complex were reluctant to discuss Black Power with any white. To overcome this situation, black associates of the authors consented to aid in the data collection process.





The following "General Data" questions provided the static characteristic information against which individual responses to questions regarding Black Power and the Black Self-Concept were applied. This data display format is used throughout the Research Findings section of this chapter.

#### General Data

1. Pay Grade: \_\_\_\_\_
2. Sex: Male \_\_\_\_\_, Female \_\_\_\_\_
3. Age: \_\_\_\_\_
4. Marital Status: Single \_\_\_\_\_, Married \_\_\_\_\_, Divorced \_\_\_\_\_
5. Husband or Wife employed? Yes \_\_\_\_\_, No \_\_\_\_\_
6. Did you volunteer for military service? Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_
7. What prompted you to enlist in the service? \_\_\_\_\_
8. Last grade completed in high school: \_\_\_\_\_
9. Any college? Yes \_\_\_\_\_, No \_\_\_\_\_, Years Completed \_\_\_\_\_
10. Are you continuing your education in any way? Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

The following questions were developed by the authors to acquire several types of information about black military personnel opinions of the Black Power Movement.<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>62</sup>It is acknowledged that one interviewee's definition of Black Power may differ from another's; however, it was not the purpose of this study to uncover the various interpretations of Black Power existing in the minds of black military personnel, and the authors' research of the literature yielded no studies addressed to such purpose. Therefore, the admittedly strong assumption that Black Power means the same thing to all black military personnel is used in this study.



## Black Power

1. Should blacks use any means necessary to gain equality and opportunity? Yes\_\_\_\_, No\_\_\_\_.
2. Does Black Power mean violence or non-violence to you? Violence\_\_\_\_, Non-Violence\_\_\_\_.
3. Do you think Black Power is a good slogan? Yes\_\_\_\_, No\_\_\_\_.
4. Do you think the joining together of black people as a unified voice is the best way to achieve your goals? Yes\_\_\_\_, No\_\_\_\_.
5. Do you think Black Power isolates blacks and is harmful to the goals of the civil rights movement? Yes\_\_\_\_, No\_\_\_\_.
6. Should the Black Power movement be under the leadership of black leaders only or a colaition of black and white leaders? Black Only\_\_\_\_, Coalition\_\_\_\_.
7. Do you think blacks voting in power blocs is necessary for blacks to gain more political influence? Yes\_\_\_\_, No\_\_\_\_.
8. Which is more important to you, a black candidate or what a candidate represents? Black candidate\_\_\_\_, Candidate platform\_\_\_\_.
9. If you had a choice, would you only vote for black candidates? Yes\_\_\_\_, No\_\_\_\_.
10. Do you feel that only blacks know the needs of the black community? Yes\_\_\_\_, No\_\_\_\_.
11. Do you think that Black Power is what is needed to assure the black community of equality? Yes\_\_\_\_, No\_\_\_\_.
12. Do you support Black Power? Yes\_\_\_\_, No\_\_\_\_.



13. Who in your opinion has done most for the leadership and organization of the Black Power movement? Stokely Carmichael\_\_\_\_, Bayard Rustin\_\_\_\_, or Martin Luther King, Jr.,\_\_\_\_\_.

Questions concerning the black military persons' self-concept are as follows. Responses to these questions will be categorized and displayed as research findings, utilizing the data display format described earlier. Of additional interest to the authors, it what correlation (if any) may be drawn between the black military persons' knowledge and opinion of Black Power - and his self-concept.

#### Self-Concept

1. Do you feel there is an equal and good chance for you to get ahead in the world today? Yes\_\_\_\_, No\_\_\_\_\_.
2. Do you consider yourself a success or failure in the majority of things you do? Yes\_\_\_\_, No\_\_\_\_\_.
3. Do you feel you can do things as well as most people? Yes\_\_\_\_, No\_\_\_\_\_.
4. Do you consider your opinions as valuable and important as anyone else's? Yes\_\_\_\_, No\_\_\_\_\_.
5. Do you feel you have a good deal to be proud of? Yes\_\_\_\_, No\_\_\_\_\_.
6. Do you feel you are a person of worth, or at least on an equal with others in your pay grade and age bracket? Yes\_\_\_\_, No\_\_\_\_\_.
7. Are you proud of your heritage? Yes\_\_\_\_, No\_\_\_\_\_.



8. Do you feel you have a positive attitude toward yourself?

Yes\_\_\_\_, No\_\_\_\_.

9. On the whole, are you satisfied with yourself? Yes\_\_\_\_,

No\_\_\_\_.

#### B. SAMPLE

The study sample was obtained from one hundred forty nine personal interviews of black military service members. These interviews were conducted individually and responses recorded as such. This represents twenty-eight percent of the total black military community at a major military command where the total black-white ratio is approximately one-tenth (ten percent of the total command personnel allowance is black).

Interviewees ranged in enlisted pay grades from E-1 (Recruit) through E-9 (Master Chief Petty Officer), and officer pay grades from O-2 (Lieutenant Junior Grade) through O-5 (Commander). The age span of enlisted personnel was between eighteen and forty-one, for officers it was between twenty-three and thirty-seven. Of the total one hundred forty nine black military personnel interviewed, six were female and all six were enlisted service members.

#### C. STATISTICAL ANALYSIS

Data correlation was accomplished utilizing a static/variable display method whereby each question asked is supported by a narrative grid; identified by a top-to-bottom scale of individual interviewee characteristics (static),





and responses to specific questions are portrayed horizontally beside the vertical characteristic scale (variable).

Basically, Section One (~~General Data~~) of the authors' three-part interview sheet was used to draft the vertical individual characteristic scale. Interviewee response data to Sections Two (Black Power) and Three (Self-Concept) was the basis for completing the horizontal portion of each summary sheet corresponding to specific questions asked.

The result of this correlation effort allowed for portraying response data by individual interviewee characteristics, both in number of like responses and percentages.



#### IV. RESEARCH FINDINGS

The statistical summary of the interview sample is as follows:

Enlisted			Officer		
<u>Pay Grade</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Interviews</u>	<u>Pay Grade</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Interviews</u>
E1 - E3	18-21	38	02	23-24	3
E4	19-24	37	03	24-27	2
E5	22-23	24	04	32-38	4
E6	26-38	22	05	36-37	2
E7 - E9	31-41	<u>17</u>			<u>—</u>
Sub Total:		138			11

#### Sex:

	<u>Interviews</u>	<u>Percent of the total</u>
Female	6	4%
Male	143	96%

#### Draft Effect:

Positive (because of selective service draft) - 56% joined Navy

Negative (because of all volunteer service) - 44% joined Navy

#### Education:

	<u>Enlisted</u>	<u>Officer</u>	<u>Total</u>
Did Not Complete High School	16%	0%	15%
Completed High School	84%	100%	85%
Some College	18%	100%	24%
College Degree	.01%	100%	.09%
Continuing Education	21%	18%	21%
Advanced Education	0%	18%	.01%



Marital Status:

	<u>Enlisted</u>	<u>Officer</u>	<u>Total</u>
Single:	51%	27%	50%
Married:	49%	73%	50%

Dependent Employment:

(Members of the sample whose spouse is employed)

<u>Enlisted</u>	<u>Officer</u>	<u>Total</u>
68%	18%	64%

Additional Financial Aid:

	<u>Enlisted</u>	<u>Officer</u>	<u>Total</u>
Moonlighting	35%	-	32%
Other	-	-	-
None	65%	-	68%

Responses to the following questions are analyzed in percentages of positive and negative opinions. Comment pages follow most questions for purposes of further interpretation of interviewee response; in those cases where the positive and negative responses to a specific question are considered adequate for reader interpretation, such comment pages would be superfluous.



Question: Do you think blacks should use any means necessary to gain equality and opportunity?

<u>Pay Grade</u>	<u>Interviews</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
E1-E3	38	71%	29%
E4	37	51%	49%
E5	24	17%	83%
E6	22	14%	86%
E7-E9	17	-	100%
02	3	67%	33%
03	2	50%	50%
04	4	-	100%
05	<u>2</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>100%</u>
Total:	149	38%	62%

Education

Did Not Complete High School	22	59%	41%
Completed High School	127	35%	65%
Some College	36	14%	86%
College Degree	13	23%	77%
Continuing Education	31	6%	94%
Advanced Education	2	-	100%

Additional Financial Aid

Moonlighting	48	29%	71%
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Dependent Employment

Wife/Husband Working	48	25%	75%
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## COMMENTS

The age and education of the interviewees seemed to determine their responses to this question. Although the statistical summary of all interviewees indicated that sixty-two percent of black military personnel did not think that blacks should use any means necessary to gain equality and opportunity, seventy-one percent of the eighteen to twenty-one year old interviewees did think that blacks should resort to any means necessary to gain equality and opportunity. Fifty-nine percent of those who did not complete high school considered "any means" necessary to gain equality and opportunity while only thirty-five percent of those with a high school education felt this way. In fact, a definite trend did exist among the educational levels of the interviewees responding in the negative to this question. Forty-one percent without a high school education did not consider "any means" necessary to gain equality and opportunity. The higher the educational attainment, the greater the percentage responding in the negative to this question. Sixty-five percent of those who completed high school, eighty-six percent of those with some college work, seventy-seven percent of those holding college degrees, ninety-four percent of those continuing their education, and one-hundred percent of those with advanced education - all responded in the negative regarding the question whether blacks should resort to any means necessary to gain equality and opportunity.



Question: Does Black Power mean violence or non-violence to you?

<u>Pay Grade</u>	<u>Interviews</u>	<u>Violence</u>	<u>Non-Violence</u>
E1-E3	38	92%	8%
E4	37	86%	14%
E5	24	75%	25%
E6	22	59%	41%
E7-E9	17	35%	65%
02	3	33%	67%
03	2	-	100%
04	4	75%	25%
05	<u>2</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>-</u>
Total:	149	74%	26%

Education

Did Not Complete High School	22	91%	9%
Completed High School	127	70%	30%
Some College	36	56%	44%
College Degree	13	54%	46%
Continuing Education	31	58%	42%
Advanced Education	2	50%	50%

Additional Financial Aid

Moonlighting	48	77%	23%
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Dependent Employment

Wife/Husband Working	48	67%	33%
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## COMMENTS

An interesting result of the responses to the question of whether Black Power means violence or non-violence is found in the age brackets of the respondents. Ninety-two percent of eighteen to twenty-one year olds perceive Black Power to connote violence. In fact, eighty-four percent of those under the age of twenty-five consider Black Power to mean violence.

Responses to this question categorized by educational attainment also support a definite trend. The higher the percentage of "violence" responses, the lower the educational attainment of the respondents. This is supported by the fact that ninety-one percent of those without a high school education consider Black Power to connote violence while only seventy percent of those with a high school education and only fifty-four percent of those holding a college degree accept or perceive this philosophy.



Question: Do you think Black Power is a good slogan?

<u>Pay Grade</u>	<u>Interviews</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
E1-E3	38	76%	24%
E4	37	81%	19%
E5	24	54%	46%
E6	22	50%	50%
E7-E9	17	35%	65%
02	3	67%	33%
03	2	50%	50%
04	4	-	100%
05	<u>2</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>100%</u>
Total:	149	62%	38%

Education

Did Not Complete High School	22	86%	14%
Completed High School	127	59%	41%
Some College	36	42%	58%
College Degree	13	38%	62%
Continuing Education	31	35%	65%
Advanced Education	2	-	100%

Additional Financial Aid

Moonlighting	48	67%	33%
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Dependent Employment

Wife/Husband Working	48	58%	42%
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## COMMENTS

The age bracket of the interviewees does not seem the motivating factor in responding to the question of whether Black Power is considered a good slogan. However, there is a definite difference between responses given by the enlisted and officer communities. Sixty-four percent of black enlisted military personnel think Black Power is a good slogan while only twenty-seven percent of black military officers think likewise.

There is also a definite correlation between educational attainment and responses given to this question. The lower the educational level of the respondent, the higher the percentage who consider Black Power a good slogan. Conversely, the higher the educational level of the respondent, the lower the percentage who consider Black Power to be a good slogan. This is supported by the research findings, where eightysix percent of those who did not complete high school thought Black Power to be a good slogan, while only fifty-nine percent of those with a high school education and only thrity-eight percent of those holding a college degree responded accordingly.



Question: Do you think the joining together of black people as a unified voice is the best way to achieve your goals?

<u>Pay Grade</u>	<u>Interviews</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
E1-E3	38	97%	3%
E4	37	96%	4%
E5	24	100%	-
E6	22	100%	-
E7-E9	17	94%	6%
02	3	100%	-
03	2	100%	-
04	4	100%	-
05	<u>2</u>	<u>50%</u>	<u>50%</u>
Total:	149	97%	3%

Education

Did Not Complete High School	22	100%	-
Completed High School	127	85%	15%
Some College	36	86%	14%
College Degree	13	85%	15%
Continuing Education	31	90%	10%
Advanced Education	2	50%	50%

Additional Financial Aid

Moonlighting	48	100%	-
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Dependent Employment

Wife/Husband Working	48	96%	4%
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Question: Do you think the Black Power movement isolates blacks and is harmful to the civil rights movement?

<u>Pay Grade</u>	<u>Interviews</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
E1-E3	38	3%	97%
E4	37	11%	89%
E5	24	33%	67%
E6	22	9%	91%
E7-E9	17	35%	65%
02	3	-	100%
03	2	50%	50%
04	4	75%	25%
05	<u>2</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>-</u>
Total:	149	18%	82%

Education

Did Not Complete High School	22	-	100%
Completed High School	127	42%	58%
Some College	36	58%	42%
College Degree	13	54%	48%
Continuing Education	31	26%	74%
Advanced Education	2	100%	-

Additional Financial Aid

Moonlighting	48	31%	69%
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Dependent Employment

Wife/Husband Working	48	19%	81%
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## COMMENTS

Respondant age does not seem to be the motivating factor regarding responses given the question of whether the Black Power movement isolates blacks and is harmful to the civil rights movement. However, there is a strong contrast between responses given by the black enlisted and black officer communities.

Only sixteen percent of black military enlisted personnel think Black Power isolates blacks and is harmful to the civil rights movement, but fifty-five percent of black military officers consider the Black Power movement a detriment to the growth of the civil rights movement.





Question: Should the Black Power movement be under the leadership of black leaders only or a coalition of black and white leaders?

<u>Pay Grade</u>	<u>Interviews</u>	<u>Black Only</u>	<u>Coalition</u>
E1-E3	38	100%	-
E4	37	100%	-
E5	24	100%	-
E6	22	100%	-
E7-E9	17	94%	6%
02	3	100%	-
03	2	100%	-
04	4	100%	-
05	<u>2</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>100%</u>
Total:	149	98%	2%

#### Education

Did Not Complete High School	22	100%	-
Completed High School	127	96%	4%
Some College	36	89%	11%
College Degree	13	85%	15%
Continuing Education	31	90%	10%
Advanced Education	2	50%	50%

#### Additional Financial Aid

Moonlighting	48	100%	-
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#### Dependent Employment

Wife/Husband Working	48	96%	4%
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Question: Do you think blacks voting in power blocs is necessary for blacks to gain more political influence?

<u>Pay Grade</u>	<u>Interviews</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
E1-E3	38	100%	-
E4	37	100%	-
E5	24	100%	-
E6	22	100%	-
E7-E9	17	94%	6%
02	3	100%	-
03	2	100%	-
04	4	100%	-
05	<u>2</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>100%</u>
Total:	149	98%	2%

Education

Did Not Complete High School	22	100%	-
Completed High School	127	96%	4%
Some College	36	89%	11%
College Degree	13	85%	15%
Continuing Education	31	90%	10%
Advanced Education	2	50%	50%

Additional Financial Aid

Moonlighting	48	100%	-
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Dependent Employment

Wife/Husband Working	48	96%	4%
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## COMMENTS

Ninety-eight percent of all black military personnel interviewed think blacks voting in power blocs is necessary for blacks to gain more political influence.

What is interesting about this response is how it stratifies into the educational level categories. Eighty-five percent of those holding a college degree answered in the affirmative to the above question, but ninety-six percent of those with only a high school education and one-hundred percent of those without a high school education responded affirmatively.



Question: Which is more important to you; a black candidate, or what a candidate represents?

<u>Pay Grade</u>	<u>Interviews</u>	<u>Black Candidate</u>	<u>Candidate Platform</u>
E1-E3	38	66%	34%
E4	37	41%	59%
E5	24	25%	75%
E6	22	18%	82%
E7-E9	17	24%	76%
02	3	100%	-
03	2	50%	50%
04	4	-	100%
05	<u>2</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>100%</u>
Total:	149	39%	61%

Education

Did Not Complete High School	22	73%	27%
Completed High School	127	33%	67%
Some College	36	33%	67%
College Degree	13	31%	69%
Continuing Education	31	32%	68%
Advanced Education	2	-	100%

Additional Financial Aid

Moonlighting	48	35%	65%
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Dependent Employment

Wife/Husband Working	48	29%	71%
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## COMMENTS

When presented with the question of interviewee preference, a black candidate or a candidates' platform, forty percent of black enlisted military personnel indicated that a black candidate was more important to them than a candidates' platform and thirty-six percent of black military officers supported the same ideal.

One interesting contrast that can be drawn from the research findings regarding this question is the difference between preferences of those who did not complete high school, and those who did. Only thirty-three percent of high school and college graduates prefer a black candidate over a candidates' platform, but seventy-three percent of those who did not complete high school support only a black candidate regardless of his platform.



Question: If you had a choice, would you only vote for black candidates?

<u>Pay Grade</u>	<u>Interviews</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
E1-E3	38	68%	32%
E4	37	38%	62%
E5	24	25%	75%
E6	22	18%	82%
E7-E9	17	24%	76%
02	3	-	100%
03	2	100%	-
04	4	-	100%
05	<u>2</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>100%</u>
Total:	149	38%	62%

Education

Did Not Complete High School	22	73%	27%
Completed High School	127	31%	69%
Some College	36	22%	78%
College Degree	13	15%	85%
Continuing Education	31	26%	74%
Advanced Education	2	-	100%

Additional Financial Aid

Moonlighting	48	33%	67%
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Dependent Employment

Wife/Husband Working	48	27%	73%
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## COMMENTS

This question regarding voting preference was utilized at a different stage during the interview for the purpose of determining what percentage difference, if any, would result between responses to the previous question concerning a black candidate or a candidates' platform and a choice between black and white candidate.

Research findings indicate no appreciable percentage difference in interviewee response to the two questions. If given a choice, thirty-eight percent of black military personnel are going to be more color conscious in voting than candidate platform conscious.



Question: Do you feel that only blacks know the needs of the black community?

<u>Pay Grade</u>	<u>Interviews</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
E1-E3	38	100%	-
E4	37	100%	-
E5	24	100%	-
E6	22	100%	-
E7-E9	17	100%	-
02	3	100%	-
03	2	100%	-
04	4	100%	-
05	<u>2</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>-</u>
Total:	149	100%	-

Education

Did Not Complete High School	22	100%	-
Completed High School	127	100%	-
Some College	36	100%	-
College Degree	13	100%	-
Continuing Education	31	100%	-
Advanced Education	2	100%	-

Additional Financial Aid

Moonlighting	48	100%	-
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Dependent Employment

Wife/Husband Working	48	100%	
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Question: Do you think that Black Power is what is needed to assure the black community of equality?

<u>Pay Grade</u>	<u>Interviews</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
E1-E3	38	87%	13%
E4	37	60%	40%
E5	24	58%	42%
E6	22	45%	55%
E7-E9	17	24%	76%
02	3	100%	-
03	2	100%	-
04	4	50%	50%
05	<u>2</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>100%</u>
Total:	149	60%	40%

Education

Did Not Complete High School	22	82%	18%
Completed High School	127	57%	43%
Some College	36	50%	50%
College Degree	13	62%	38%
Continuing Education	31	32%	68%
Advanced Education	2	-	100%

Additional Financial Aid

Moonlighting	48	58%	42%
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Dependent Employment

Wife/Husband Working	48	54%	46%
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## COMMENTS

There is a definite correlation between the responses given this question and the age bracket of the interviewee. Sixty-seven percent of black military personnel under the age of thirty five responded affirmatively to the question of whether they considered Black Power to be what was needed to assure the black community of equality. For the "over thirty-five" age bracket, only thirty-two percent responded affirmatively.

Another definite correlation may be made between responses given this question and the educational level of the interviewee. Eighty-two percent of the black military personnel without a high school education responded positively to this question, compared with a positive response of only fifty-eight percent of black military personnel holding a high school diploma or college degree.



Question: Do you support Black Power?

<u>Pay Grade</u>	<u>Interviews</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
E1-E3	38	84%	16%
E4	37	57%	43%
E5	24	67%	33%
E6	22	86%	14%
E7-E9	17	35%	65%
02	3	100%	-
03	2	100%	-
04	4	75%	25%
05	<u>2</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>100%</u>
Total:	149	68%	32%

Education

Did Not Complete High School	22	86%	14%
Completed High School	127	65%	35%
Some College	36	72%	28%
College Degree	13	77%	23%
Continuing Education	31	58%	42%
Advanced Education	2	50%	50%

Additional Financial Aid

Moonlighting	48	77%	23%
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Dependent Employment

Wife/Husband Working	48	66%	34%
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## COMMENTS

Age, maturity, or both seemed to be the criteria interviewee response was based upon when presented with the question; "Do you support Black Power?"

Seventy-four percent of black military personnel under the age of thirty-five indicated they support Black Power, while only forty-two percent over the age of thirty-five responded accordingly.

There was only slight (if any) correlation between response given this question and the educational level of the interviewee.





Question: Who in your opinion has done most for the leadership and organization of the Black Power movement?

<u>Pay Grade</u>	<u>Interviews</u>	<u>Stokely Carmichael</u>	<u>Bayard Rustin</u>	<u>Martin Luther King, Jr.</u>
E1-E3	38	37%	-	63%
E4	37	40%	-	60%
E5	24	29%	4%	67%
E6	22	23%	-	77%
E7-E9	17	41%	-	59%
02	3	67%	-	33%
03	2	50%	-	50%
04	4	50%	-	50%
05	<u>2</u>	<u>50%</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>50%</u>
Total:	149	36%	1%	63%

Education

Did Not Complete High School	22	14%	-	86%
Completed High School	127	41%	1%	58%
Some College	36	58%	-	42%
College Degree	13	62%	-	38%
Continuing Education	31	65%	-	35%
Advanced Education	2	50%	-	50%

Additional Financial Aid

Moonlighting	48	77%	-	23%
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Dependent Employment

Wife/Husband Working	48	73%	-	27%
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## COMMENTS

The response to this question was most revealing regarding interviewee knowledge of Black Power leaders.

Of the three leaders to choose among, only one (Stokely Carmichael) was ever involved in the organization and leadership of the Black Power movement. Bayard Rustin leads the opposition to the Black Power movement, stating it isolates blacks and is harmful to the goals of the civil rights movement. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. was the leader of the American civil rights movement and was not affiliated in any way with the organization and leadership of the Black Power movement.

Yet, sixty-three percent of black military personnel indicated that Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. had done most for the Black Power movement. One percent of the interviewees voted for Bayard Rustin, and only thirty-six percent actually tied the leadership of Black Power to Stokely Carmichael.

This finding gives credence to the assertion that one of the major problems facing the Black Power movement is the problem of effective leadership.



Question: Do you feel there is an equal and good chance for you to get ahead in the world ~~today~~?

<u>Pay Grade</u>	<u>Interviews</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
E1-E3	38	16%	84%
E4	37	30%	70%
E5	24	71%	29%
E6	22	91%	9%
E7-E9	17	100%	-
02	3	67%	33%
03	2	100%	-
04	4	100%	-
05	<u>2</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>-</u>
Total:	149	54%	46%

Education

Did Not Complete High School	22	32%	68%
Completed High School	127	71%	29%
Some College	36	81%	19%
College Degree	13	92%	8%
Continuing Education	31	81%	19%
Advanced Education	2	100%	-

Additional Financial Aid

Moonlighting	48	56%	44%
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Dependent Employment

Wife/Husband Working	48	73%	27%
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## COMMENTS

Interviewee response to this question was predicated more on age than pay grade. Seventy-six percent of black military personnel under the age of twenty-five do not feel there is an equal and good chance for them to get ahead in the world today, as compared to only thirteen percent over the age of twenty-five who feel the same way.

There is also a relationship between the responses given this question and the educational level of the interviewee. Sixty-eight percent of black military personnel without a high school education do not feel there is an equal and good chance to get ahead in the world today as compared with only twenty-seven percent of black military personnel holding a high school diploma or college degree.





Question: Do you consider yourself a success or failure in the majority of things you do?

<u>Pay Grade</u>	<u>Interviews</u>	<u>Success</u>	<u>Failure</u>
E1-E3	38	97%	3%
E4	37	97%	3%
E5	24	100%	-
E6	22	100%	-
E7-E9	17	100%	-
02	3	100%	-
03	2	100%	-
04	4	100%	-
05	<u>2</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>-</u>
Total	149	99%	1%

Education

Did Not Complete High School	22	91%	9%
Completed High School	127	100%	-
Some College	36	100%	-
College Degree	13	100%	-
Continuing Education	31	100%	-
Advanced Education	2	100%	-

Additional Financial Aid

Moonlighting	48	100%	-
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Dependent Employment

Wife/Husband Working	48	100%	-
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## COMMENTS

A definite correlation between responses given this question and both the age and educational level of the interviewee exists.

Five percent of black military personnel under the age of twenty-five do not consider themselves a success in the majority of things they do. Two of this five percent were black military personnel who did not complete high school.



Question: Do you feel you can do things as well as most people?

<u>Pay Grade</u>	<u>Interviews</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
E1-E3	38	100%	-
E4	37	100%	-
E5	24	100%	-
E6	22	100%	-
E7-E9	17	100%	-
02	3	100%	-
03	2	100%	-
04	4	100%	-
05	<u>2</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>-</u>
Total	149	100%	-

Education

Did Not Complete High School	22	100%	-
Completed High School	127	100%	-
Some College	36	100%	-
College Degree	13	100%	-
Continuing Education	31	100%	-
Advanced Education	2	100%	-

Additional Financial Aid

Moonlighting	48	100%	-
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Dependent Employment

Wife/Husband Working	48	100%	-
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Question: Do you consider your opinions as valuable and important as anyone else's?

<u>Pay Grade</u>	<u>Interviews</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
E1-E3	38	100%	-
E4	37	100%	-
E5	24	100%	-
E6	22	100%	-
E7-E9	17	100%	-
02	3	100%	-
03	2	100%	-
04	4	100%	-
05	<u>2</u>	<u>100%</u>	-
Total:	149	100%	

Education

Did Not Complete High School	22	100%	-
Completed High School	127	100%	-
Some College	36	100%	-
College Degree	13	100%	-
Continuing Education	31	100%	-
Advanced Education	2	100%	-

Additional Financial Aid

Moonlighting	48	100%	-
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Dependent Employment

Wife/Husband Working	48	100%	-
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Question: Do you feel you have a good deal to be proud of?

<u>Pay Grade</u>	<u>Interviews</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
E1-E3	38	100%	-
E4	37	100%	-
E5	24	100%	-
E6	22	100%	-
E7-E9	17	100%	-
02	3	100%	-
03	2	100%	-
04	4	100%	-
05	<u>2</u>	<u>100%</u>	-
Total:	149	100%	

Education

Did Not Complete High School	22	100%	-
Completed High School	127	100%	-
Some College	36	100%	-
College Degree	13	100%	-
Continuing Education	31	100%	-
Advanced Education	2	100%	-

Additional Financial Aid

Moonlighting	48	100%	-
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Dependent Employment

Wife/Husband Working	48	100%	-
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Question: Do you feel you are a person of worth, or at least on an equal with others in your pay grade and age bracket?

<u>Pay Grade</u>	<u>Interviews</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
E1-E3	38	100%	-
E4	37	100%	-
E5	24	100%	-
E6	22	100%	-
E7-E9	17	100%	-
02	3	100%	-
03	2	100%	-
04	4	100%	-
05	<u>2</u>	<u>100%</u>	-
Total:	149	100%	

Education

Did Not Complete High School	22	100%	-
Completed High School	127	100%	-
Some College	36	100%	-
College Degree	13	100%	-
Continuing Education	31	100%	-
Advanced Education	2	100%	-

Additional Financial Aid

Moonlighting	48	100%	-
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Dependent Employment

Wife/Husband Working	48	100%	
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Question: Are you proud of your heritage?

<u>Pay Grade</u>	<u>Interviews</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
E1-E3	38	100%	-
E4	37	100%	-
E5	24	100%	-
E6	22	100%	-
E7-E9	17	100%	-
02	3	100%	-
03	2	100%	-
04	4	100%	-
05	<u>2</u>	<u>100%</u>	-
	149	100%	-

Education

Did Not Complete High School	22	100%	-
Completed High School	127	100%	-
Some College	36	100%	-
College Degree	13	100%	-
Continuing Education	31	100%	-
Advanced Education	2	100%	-

Additional Financial Aid

Moonlighting	48	100%	-
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Dependent Employment

Wife/Husband	48	100%	-
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Question: Do you feel you have a positive attitude toward yourself?

<u>Pay Grade</u>	<u>Interviews</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
E1-E3	38	100%	-
E4	37	100%	-
E5	24	100%	-
E6	22	100%	-
E7-E9	17	100%	-
02	3	100%	-
03	2	100%	-
04	4	100%	-
05	<u>2</u>	<u>100%</u>	-
Total:	149	100%	

Education

Did Not Complete High School	22	100%	-
Completed High School	127	100%	-
Some College	36	100%	-
College Degree	13	100%	-
Continuing Education	31	100%	-
Advanced Education	2	100%	-

Additional Financial Aid

Moonlighting	48	100%	-
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Dependent Employment

Wife/Husband Working	48	100%	-
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Question: On the whole, are you satisfied with yourself?

<u>Pay Grade</u>	<u>Interviews</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
E1-E3	38	100%	-
E4	37	100%	-
E5	24	100%	-
E6	22	100%	-
E7-E9	17	100%	-
02	3	100%	-
03	2	100%	-
04	4	100%	-
05	<u>2</u>	<u>100%</u>	-
Total	149	100%	

Education

Did Not Complete High School	22	100%	-
Completed High School	127	100%	-
Some College	36	100%	-
College Degree	13	100%	-
Continuing Education	31	100%	-
Advanced Education	2	100%	-

Additional Financial Aid

Moonlighting	48	100%	-
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Dependent Employment

Wife/Husband Working	48	100%	-
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## V. INTERPRETATION, DISCUSSION AND SUMMARY CONCLUSIONS

### A. INTERPRETATION

Black military personnel support many of the goals of the Black Power movement, but it is also the authors' opinion that this support would be prevalent regardless of names given to a specific black movement. This opinion is supported by the fact that ninety-seven percent of black military personnel interviewed consider the joining together of black people as a unified voice the best way to achieve their goals, ninety-eight percent believe that blacks voting in power blocs is necessary for blacks to gain more political influence, and one-hundred percent believe that only blacks know the needs of the black community. But these are conventional goals of Black America. They did not surface because of any specific movement or owe their genesis to any specific leader. The Black Power movement capitalized upon these feelings of need and unity, and proceeded further to define specific objectives, some of which are supported by the majority of Black America and some are not. Those few unique goals of Black Power receiving support from Black America are also reflected in the support given by black military personnel; ninety-eight percent feel that the Black Power movement should be under the leadership of black leaders only and not a coalition of black and white leaders, and eighty-two percent do not consider the Black Power movement isolates blacks and is harmful to the civil rights movement.



Perhaps the greatest contribution Black Power could be credited with concerns the self-concept of Black America. The Black Power movement has been a catalyst to harbored black emotion. It was the raised fist at first, now blacks raise their heads in pride. While only fifty-four percent of black military personnel feel there is an equal or good chance for them to get ahead in the world today; ninety-nine percent consider themselves a success and one-hundred percent feel they can constructively contribute to society as well as anyone else. Both the Black Power and civil rights movements can be credited with the high degree of unrestrained emotionalism regarding the self-concept in blacks today. This is also reflected in the authors' sample of black military personnel where one-hundred percent responded affirmatively as to whether blacks value their opinions as valuable as anyone else's, whether they believe to be persons of worth, whether they are proud of their heritage and whether they have a positive attitude towards themselves. But at this point, the communication of Black Power objectives between Black Power leaders and Black America seem to break down.

Black Power leaders have gone to great effort defining the meaning and objectives of Black Power in a variety of literature media; however, this effort has not been totally successful in projecting these "values" to the entire black community. While there is a definite consensus among Black Power leaders that the Black Power movement is one of non-violence, seventy-eight percent of black military personnel



interviewed conceive Black Power to connote violence. Although ninety-eight percent of black military personnel believe voting in power blocs is necessary for blacks to gain more political influence, only thirty-eight percent would vote for a black candidate if given a choice between a black and white candidate. In fact, sixty-one percent of the sample consider a candidate's platform more important than the candidate color. This "communication gap" could account for why only sixty-eight percent of black military personnel support Black Power and why only sixty-two percent think Black Power is a good slogan.

Interview responses by black military personnel in pay grades E1 through E4 (ages eighteen to twenty-four) varied without exception from the interview responses of those in higher pay grades (typically older in age and involved in "moonlight" employment).

It could be concluded that maturity results in increased awareness of both sides of an issue. This would account for any difference in response by age group or pay grade categories.

## B. DISCUSSION

The genesis of the Black Power concept is tied closely with the ideas of abolitionist Frederick Douglass. Although Douglass is not credited with Black Power organization, his ideas are certainly linked in a most formative manner.

"Power concedes nothing without a demand; it never has and never will. Find out just what people will quietly submit to, and you have discovered the exact





measure of injustice and wrong which will be imposed upon them and these will continue until they are resisted with either words, or blows, or both. The limits of tyrants are prescribed by the endurance of those whom they oppress."<sup>63</sup>

Perhaps the most fundamental aspect of Black Power is the collective assertion of ability, desire, and need to re-arrange institutional structures. Black leaders believe these institutional structures must be remade to meet the needs of blacks in America. Blacks also agree that the white majority in America, through the process of discrimination for a period of almost two-hundred years, has benefited from a substrata of lesser enfranchised minority groups. During this period, minority groups have achieved varying degrees of economic, political, educational, and social gains through the gradual social, judicial and legislative evolution towards equality of opportunity. The evolutionary process, although painfully slow to the affected minority groups, did have a beneficial secondary result - the white majority generally did not perceive themselves threatened by the gains achieved by the minority. These gains made by the minority were not achieved solely at the expense of the majority; their gains were, for the most part, incorporated into a growing America, i.e., the physical size, population, economy, and number of minority groups were steadily increasing and thus had minimal impact on the majority.

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<sup>63</sup>Frederick Douglass, quoted by Melville J. Herskovits, The Myth of the Negro Past, Beacon Press, 1970.



Blacks were (and still are) gaining rights to equality and opportunity, but the civil rights process is slow. Black Power provided a catapult effect regarding the black perspective - pride in heritage and capability. It is these personal qualities (black perspective) that blacks now pride themselves in and gives momentum to any movement promising institutional structure change.<sup>64</sup>

Black Power can be considered a parallel movement within the general confines of the civil rights movement - but without the current legislative support or considerations. Black Power is identified by more "emotional fervor" and "demanding" than what would be considered normal tactics under the civil rights movement. Although the civil rights movement is concerned with the general welfare, equality, opportunity, and future of minorities in America (primarily blacks), it is Black Power that is totally a black movement. It was conceived, is led, and is supported only by members of the black community. Black Power goals are both short run and long range. Short run in the sense of a self-concept, i.e., pride in blackness and the need for unity or togetherness. The long range ideals would be the political and economic impact such a movement could wield within an

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<sup>64</sup> A most interesting observation regarding the leadership of the Black Power movement based upon the Research Findings is that sixty-two percent of black military personnel think Black Power is a good slogan, eighty-two percent feel the Black Power movement is not harmful to the goals of the civil rights movement, sixty-eight percent actually support the goals of Black Power; - yet only thirty-six percent of the interview respondents could relate Stokely Carmichael to the leadership of the Black Power movement. In fact, sixty-three percent thought Martin Luther King, Jr. was the most dynamic leader of the Black Power movement.



integrated society. Of course, this is almost totally dependent upon dynamic leadership, which thus far, has not proven cohesive enough to enjoy the complete backing and support of Black America.

### C. SUMMARY CONCLUSIONS

In varying degrees, the Negro civil rights movement in the United States has been going on for over one hundred years and constitutes an important element in the overall struggle of the black man for individual freedom.<sup>65</sup> While progress toward greater Negro civil rights was considerable between 1940 and 1960, many blacks stated that the rate of change was much too slow.<sup>66</sup> These people then advocated a departure from the normal procedure of attempting to persuade American society through judicial and legislative means to restructure or re-arrange race barriers within society to accommodate the needs, talents, and capabilities of the black man.<sup>67</sup>

During the mid-1960's, Stokely Carmichael spearheaded the move to challenge the legitimacy and authority of the white majority regarding individual rights of Black America.

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<sup>65</sup>Institutional Racism in American Society, NAVPERS 15243, U. S. Government Printing Office, 1973.

<sup>66</sup>Charles E. Silberman, *op. cit.*

<sup>67</sup>Stokely Carmichael and Charles Hamilton, *op. cit.*



Carmichael extracted from the civil rights platform those goals he considered most conducive to high pressure tactics and appealed to Black America to join together, exhibit pride in their blackness and to organize themselves within their respective communities on a color basis for social and economic reasons.<sup>68</sup> Thus, Black Power took on the form of a movement.

Black Power, with its emotional attraction, is considered the necessary tool for applying additional pressure upon whatever segment of society deemed appropriate by the leaders of Black Power - to create (or expand) attention to the needs of Black America.

However, the Black Power movement is not blessed with the same judicial and legislative support enjoyed by the civil rights movement. Even without this support, it has contributed greatly to the self-image or self-concept of Black America. In a sense, the Black Power movement re-defined "blackness," stressing its positive aspects and using it to unite the black community with a feeling of brotherhood.<sup>69</sup>

This feeling of brotherhood and improved self-concept of the black man is supported by the research findings in this thesis. One hundred percent of black military personnel interviewed responded positively that they feel they can do things as well as most people, that they consider their opinions as valuable and important as anyone else's, that

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<sup>68</sup>Floyd Hunter, *op. cit.*

<sup>69</sup>Grambs, *op. cit.*





they have a great deal to be proud of, that they feel they are persons of worth - at least on an equal with others in their pay grade, that they are proud of their heritage, that they have a positive attitude towards themselves, and that they are satisfied with themselves.

The major organizational problem of Black Power is that of effective leadership. There are many advocates of the movement and many who speak out in opposition to Black Power. Black America is left in a position of having to identify with someone they consider to be in a leadership capacity. This lack of knowledge on the part of Black America or the ineptness on the part of Black Power leaders to decide upon a single spokesman is reflected in interviewee response to the question, "Who in your opinion has done most for Black Power organization and leadership - Stokely Carmichael, Bayard Rustin, or Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.?" Only thirty-six percent could tie Stokely Carmichael to the Black Power movement, and sixty-three percent indicated that Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. had done most for the Black Power movement.

This is obvious confusion among Black America regarding who occupies the leadership role in the Black Power movement has also had adverse effects concerning certain Black Power goals. Black Power leaders have exerted much effort to convey to Black America that Black Power is a non-violent movement. However, the research findings in this thesis indicate that seventy-one percent of the eighteen to twenty-one year old black military member supports the use of any means



necessary for blacks to gain equality and opportunity, and ninety-two percent consider the Black Power movement as one of violence.

#### D. RECOMMENDATIONS

Black Power has provided an emotional escape for many black military personnel. To be effective, today's Naval Officer cannot afford to be void in the objectives of any black or minority movement, specifically the civil rights and Black Power movements. Black people are constituting a larger percentage of the military work force, either as military members or as civil service employees within the Department of Defense. Effective managers must be concerned with techniques of employee motivation towards established policy and objectives, but until the needs of employees (real or perceived) are met, organizational goal congruence will be most difficult.

Naval Officers and military managers must share the burden of gaining an increased awareness of minority problems. Much depends upon the individual attitude of the Naval leader on the scene and his sincerity in attempting to maintain a stable work force necessary to accommodate his assigned mission. There are no quick solutions to this problem, for it involves an individual search of one's attitude in both the leader and employee. An acceptance of attitude, or at least a knowledge of the motivation behind such attitudes, is a prerequisite to workable military leader/employee relationships.



To best describe what the Navy is faced with regarding race and its potential explosive repercussions, the following event is presented for descriptive purposes and also as a recommended method of solution with minorities or minority organizations.

On July 10, 1970, four black Waves were arrested for assault upon a fifth at the Great Lakes Naval Base. This was only one of twenty six such incidents occurring during the previous two month period. Through a series of miscommunication, misquotes, and sensationalizing by the media, the Great Lakes Naval Base was viewed as a breeding ground for race riots.

Of particular interest is the manner and method by which the Base Commander proceeded to return stability to a shaken and factionated command.

The Chief of Naval Personnel was immediately made aware of the situation and was requested to provide assistance in the form of a race relations team. In retrospect, it was not the "knowledge" possessed by the team members as much as it was the "presence" of a race relations team onboard the Base - that provided the catalyst that made it possible to begin an aggressive, positive program to solve the Base race relations problem. The team was comprised of seven blacks and six whites, who immediately set up court to hear the "gripes" of the Base members. Gripes ranged from pay problems for transient personnel to the availability of Afro products sold in the Navy Exchange. A side effect of this race relations team effort was in the form of several in-depth articles



on race relations appearing in major Chicago newspapers. Reporters were even invited to conduct interviews with Base sailors to discuss what was being undertaken in an effort to improve previous conditions. In all cases, the newspapers were accurate and objective and stressed one central theme: "The Navy is aware that it has a possible problem and is taking immediate steps to correct it." Two daily newspapers concluded their articles by observing, "We applaud the Navy for its prompt action, but what appeared to be a critical problem may not have been."

Within one week after the arrival of the race relations team, a 15-point master plan to improve race relations was already on the drawing board and about to become a reality. Stability had returned to the Great Lakes Naval Base, but it is the authors' opinion that the pivot point around which the highly volatile race problems subsided was due primarily to the complete openness and sincerity of the Base Commander, Rear Admiral Draper L. Kauffman. During the midst of the race relations trauma, Admiral Kauffman received the following letter from a black friend:

"Because I am black, I think I would be less inclined to generalize and perhaps might search for an understanding of the conflicts that black men face attempting to indoctrinate themselves into a white structure (such as the Navy) under such trying times as those confused with black pride and racial identity. What I'm trying to get over is the need for a balance of thinking which may or may not be needed on your part. I'm assuming, perhaps erroneously, that all of your advisors, your best friends, the people that you most often associate with are white. And, as in the final analysis, all decisions rest in your hands, perhaps it would be best for you to develop some kind of understanding with intelligent black men whom you respect and respect you."





The Admiral replied:

"Your letter, I am sorry to say, certainly hit the target. As you pointed out, my most serious problem is putting myself in the shoes - or in the mind - of a man or woman whose background and way of thinking are completely different from mine. I am white, as are practically all of my friends. Though never rich, we have never lacked money for anything important. I have never been barred from a restaurant, never had to explain, or try to explain, to my children why they couldn't use a particular toilet, never had to approach a real estate dealer with a worry as to how much extra my skin color would cost me or in what areas I might not be welcome. My children have had excellent educations and have never been subjected to taunts of other children, etc. Yet, I have a serious responsibility to understand people whose background may be completely opposite to most of all of the above characteristics. It is absolutely essential that I ensure an equal break for all of these people and not just an even break according to cold, written regulations. Let's face it, these regulations have been written by men with backgrounds similar to my own. When they are applied to people of completely different backgrounds, we face a real problem. On the one hand, we must interpret these rules in terms that are fair and understanding of different ways of thinking. On the other hand, we have a military organization that must treat everyone equally. I sincerely believe that this conflict can be resolved but it certainly is not, and will not, be easy."<sup>70</sup>

In summary, the authors' recommend the Naval Officer must assume the responsibility to develop a sense of empathy so as to produce workable attitudes consistent with the Naval mission, and the need of minorities to develop a realistic and acceptable self-image. In addition, the Naval Officer must develop the necessary knowledge so he may understand and work with the psychological and sociological motivation

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<sup>70</sup> CDR Jack M. White, USN, "Seven Days in July," United States Naval Institute Proceedings, 98: 38-41, January 1972.



of minority groups. Finally, the Navy must be willing to contribute resources to aid cultural integration within the services by providing educational opportunities to all on the requirements and nature of pluralistic society, and by permitting artifacts necessary to racial identity.



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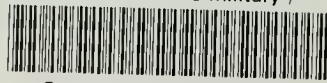
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